

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 IO-10 /070 W
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R 051621Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3499
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 12012

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PORT, SP, RO

SUBJECT: ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT'S VIEWS ON PORTUGAL

SUMMARY: ROMANIAN FIRST SECRETARY GAVE EMDASSY OFFICER
VIEWS ON SITUATION IN PORTUGAL WHICH ARE OF POSSIDLE
INTEREST SINCE HE UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECTS SOME, IF NOT ALL,
ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT VIEWS. END SUMMARY.

1. MIHAI CROITORU, FIRST SECRETARY AT ROMANIAN EMBASSY,
DISCUSSED CURRENT SITUATION IN PORTUGAL WITH EMBASSY
OFFICER AUGUST 4. CROITORU ANSWERED QUESTIONS ON
PORTUGAL IMMEDIATELY AFTER DESULTORY REMARKS ON HELSINKI
SUMMIT AND
STOCKHOLM MEETING OF SOCIALIST LEADERS AND HE APPEARED
EAGER TO ESTABLISH WHETHER THERE WERE SOME SIMILARITIES
WITH US VIEWS. HE WAS OUTSPOKEN AND DIRECT IN EXPRESSING
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A CONCERN THAT PRESENT SITUATION IN PORTUGAL WAS

THREATENING. HE CONCLUDED THAT PORTUGAL PERHAPS WILL HAVE TO UNDERGO PERIOD OF CIVIL STRIFE AND BLOODSHED.

2. CROITORU ATTACKED PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST LEADER CUNHAL AS "RIGID DOGMATIST." HE SAID THAT CUNHAL HAS NOT PROVIDED PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS WITH THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP SITUATION DEMANDS WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO LENGTHY PERIOD CUNHAL SPENT IN EXILE IN PRAGUE. DURING EXILE PERIOD CROITORU SAID CUNHAL SPENT ALL OF HIS TIME IN PRAGUE AND MOSCOW AND DID NOT VISIT ROMANIA BECAUSE OF ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW. CUNHAL IS EXCESSIVELY DEPENDENT ON MOSCOW AND NOT FLEXIBLE. BY CONTRAST, SPANISH COMMUNIST SECRETARY GENERAL HAS SHOWN A GREAT DEAL OF FLEXIBILITY IN DEALING WITH THE VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN SPAIN. (FYI: CROITORU SHOWED CONSIDERABLE FAMILIARITY WITH THE FALLACCI INTERVIEW WITH CUNHAL. END FYI.)

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, CROITORU SAID THAT CUNHAL IS A GOOD ORGANIZER AND HAS STRENGTHENED THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. WHILE HE IS, IN THIS SENSE, A CLEVER POLITICIAN, CROITORU EXPRESSED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE BELANGUER CRITIQUE OF THE ACTIVITY AND PROGRAM OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS.

4. SOME PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS ARE NOW COMPARING SITUATION IN PORTUGAL WITH THAT OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN SOVIET UNION IN 1917. THEY CALL FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF SOVIETS, WORKERS' COUNCILS, ETC., WHICH CROITORU BELIEVES TOTALLY INAPPROPRIATE TO PORTUGUESE REALITIES. CROITORU ALSO EXPRESSED DISAGREEMENT WITH THE COMPARISON SOME THEORETICIANS HAVE MADE BETWEEN CONTEMPORARY PORTUGAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN (CZECHOSLOVAKIA) IN 1948. ONE REASON THIS COMPARISON IS FALLACIOUS, HE AGREED, IS THE ABSENCE OF THE RED ARMY.

5. THE MAJOR ATTACK ON CUNHAL POLICY MADE BY CROITORU WAS ON HIS REFUSAL TO WORK IN COALITION WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY. CROITORU SAID THE PCP HAD MANIPULATED THE SITUATION TO THE POINT WHERE SOARES WITHDREW FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL

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GOVERNMENT, LEAVING THE AFM AND THE PCP AS THE ONLY VIABLE POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COUNTRY. WHILE SOARES WAS PERHAPS ILL ADVISED TO LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT, THE PCP, UNDER CUNHAL, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR FORCING THE PACE OF THE SOCIALISTS' DEPARTURE.

6. THE RESULT OF THIS, ACCORDING TO CROITORU, WAS THAT CUNHAL HAD NOW MADE THE PCP EXTREMELY VULNERABLE TO

FACTIONALISM IN THE AFM. RATHER THAN A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE AFM AS A WHOLE ON ONE HAND AND WITH THE PCP ON THE OTHER, THE SITUATION IN THE AFM WAS DEGENERATING INTO A STRUGGLE FOR POWER WITH THE FUTURE FORTUNES OF THE PCP LIKELY TO BE DAMAGED IN THE PROCESS.

7. QUESTIONED WHETHER HE BELIEVED THE PCP AND CUNHAL HAD BECOME "FRIGHTENED" BY THE LOW PCP VOTE LAST SPRING,

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CROITORU SAID HE BELIEVES CUNHAL EXPECTED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WOULD NOT DO WELL AND WAS NOT DISAPPOINTED. HE NOTED THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAD WISHED TO POSTPONE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION IN ORDER TO ALLOW MORE TIME FOR "GREATER EDUCATION" OF THE ELECTORATE ALTER THE MANY YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP. HE AGREED WITH BELANGUER THAT THE COMMUNISTS IN PORTUGAL APPEARED NOW TO BE MOVING

TOO RAPIDLY TOWARD UNDERCUTTING OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES AND DESTROYING THE POLICY OF A SOCIALIST/COMMUNIST COALITION. (FYI: CROITORU DID NOT DISAGREE WITH A PRESENTATION OF EVENTS IN PORTUGAL SINCE THE ELECTION AS LARGELY THE RESULT OF TACTICAL ACTIONS BY THE PCP WHO FELT SHAKEN BY THE SOARES VOTE. HE SAID SUCH A VIEW WAS A POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION WITH WHICH HE DID NOT AGREE BUT WHICH HE COULD UNDERSTAND. END FYI.)

8. CROITORU FEELS SOARES WAS PRECIPITATE IN LEAVING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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GOVERNMENT. HAVING MET SOARES ON SEVERAL PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, CROITORU EXPLAINED SOARES' DECISION AS PRIMARILY EMOTIONAL AND "MEDITERRANEAN," RATHER THAN REASONED. HE BELIEVES THAT SOARES COULD HAVE REMAINED IN THE COALITION FOR BETTER EFFECT PARTICULARLY SINCE HE NOW SEEMS TO BE OBTAINING FINANCIAL AND OTHER SUPPORT FROM WESTERN EUROPEAN SOCIALIST PARTIES. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT SOARES WOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE DIFFICULTIES WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY SINCE MANY PORTUGUESE SUPPORTED IT IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS WHO ARE RIGHTISTS, IF NOT NEO-NAZI, BY POLITICAL SENTIMENT.

9. CROITORU SEES LITTLE POSITIVE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. THE POWER STRUGGLE IN THE AFM WILL EVENTUALLY LEAD TO A COUP OR SEIZURE OF POWER BY A STRONG MAN WITH AN ENSUING CURTAILMENT OF POLITICAL LIBERTIES, ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES, AND THE KIND OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIM THE PORTUGUESE HAD FINALLY DIVESTED THEMSELVES OF A YEAR OR SO AGO. CROITORU BELIEVES THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO PORTUGAL WAS A PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY AND A GOVERNING SOCIALIST/PCP COALITION. HOPES FOR THIS WERE NOW FADING FAST. CROITORU AGREED WITH A SUGGESTION THAT EITHER DIRECT MILITARY RULE, WHICH WOULD LIKELY BE OF A RIGHTIST COLORATION, OR A SEIZURE OF POWER BY THE PCP AND CUNHAL WOULD BE EQUALLY DISASTROUS FOR DEMOCRACY IN PORTUGAL.

10. SPEAKING OF ROMANIA'S BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH PORTUGAL, CROITORU SAID THE COSTA GOMES VISIT HAD GONE WELL AND HAD LED TO A JOINT AGREEMENT, THE FIRST THAT ANY MEMBER OF NATO HAD SIGNED WITH A MEMBER NATION OF THE WARSAW PACT. HE TOOK OBVIOUS PRIDE IN ROMANIA'S ROLE AS A KIND OF BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

11. COMMENT: IT IS DIFFICULT ENOUGH TO EVALUATE EVENTS IN PORTUGAL FROM THE LONDON VIEWPOINT, MUCH MORE SO THE VIEWS OF A ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT BASED IN LONDON. CROITORU, HOWEVER, HAS A LONG TRADITION OF REASONABLY OPEN COMMUNICATION WITH AMERICAN DIPLOMATS IN WASHINGTON,

BUCHAREST, AND LONDON. HE SOUGHT THE OPPORTUNITY OF DIS-
CUSSING HELSINKI AND THE STOCKHOLM MEETING OF SOCIALIST

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LEADERS, BUT DID NOT TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN EXPOUNDING
ON PORTUGAL EXCEPT IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS. HE FURTHER-
MORE SAID HE IS A CLOSE PERSONAL FRIEND OF THE ROMANIAN
AMBASSADOR IN LISBON AND HEARS PRIVATELY FROM HIM FROM
TIME TO TIME. END COMMENT.

RICHARDSON

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